1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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Foreword

Bali, 'the island of the many temples', has long appealed to the imagination of the Westerner, and Balinese life has been the theme of several popular novels and travel books. There are, however, still fairly few products of scholarly research on Bali in English.

In those works that are available – books and articles by such eminent scholars as Jane Belo, Claire Holt, Margaret Mead, Beryl de Zoete, Gregory Bateson, Colin McPhee, and Walter Spies – one finds reference again and again to the fund of knowledge amassed by a handful of scholars from the Netherlands who have delved into Balinese studies, names such as those of R. Goris, C. J. Grader, and V. E. Korn. The trailblazing work of those scholars themselves has meanwhile remained largely unknown, written as it is in Dutch and hidden away in Dutch and Indonesian journals difficult for most students from other countries to come by.

One of the main objectives of the editors in planning this volume has been to make more generally accessible a sampling of the work of these and other Dutch scholars who have contributed substantially to the field of Balinese studies. At the same time an attempt has been made to select for inclusion a group of articles, papers, and monographs which, when read in conjunction with the introductory essay written especially for this book by Dr J. L. Swellengrebel, would constitute a concise introduction to the pattern of Balinese life and society.

A special problem in the editing of any work on Bali is that of the spelling to be used. The editors have found it advisable to spell modern Balinese and Indonesian words according to the rules

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field. That function might be defined briefly as the task of maintaining the cosmic balance in the territory of the *desa*, and thus of assuring the well-being of the *desa* inhabitants, by worshipping the divine powers and exorcizing the demonic ones. Each *desa* does this, with ceremonies performed in or nearby its temples. In the *desa* there are differences between inhabitants as regards their functions and their right-of-say, but every group is expected to cooperate in performing the community task by helping to maintain and restore the village temples and to provide offerings and whatever else may be needed for the temple festivals and the ceremonies of purification and exorcism.

It would be one-sided to view the *desa* community exclusively as a community of worship, for it also fulfils a task in the social field. But it is difficult to make a distinction between its social and its religious task, as becomes clear whenever members of a village community go over to another religion. In keeping with the design of this volume, attention will be given particularly to the religious aspects of *desa* life.

6

The Land of the Many Temples

In tourist folders Bali is often advertised as the 'land of the thousand temples'. That such a folder is in error happens quite frequently, but that it errs by understating is a rare exception. Nonetheless that is here the case.

In the earthquake of 1917, 2,431 Balinese temples were destroyed. The stricken area, which was not one of the most densely populated parts of Bali, covered about a ninth of the total surface of the island. This would lead one to set the number of temples on the whole island at more than twenty thousand.[18] A recent figure from the Bureau of Religious Affairs on Bali gave the total number of large and important temples as 4,661.[19]

No student of Bali can afford not to familiarize himself with the extensive temple system and the religion that manifests itself in it. One of the purposes of this volume is to provide materials

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for such a study. The long quotation on page 28 below places the present-day Balinese temple in its prehistoric perspective. Goris, in his essays "The Religious Character of the Village Community" and "The Temple System",[20] provides a general survey of the temple system and the temple cult. Grader describes a single temple monographically in his study "Pĕmayun-Temple of the *Banjar* of Tĕgal" and a special type of temples in "The State Temples of Mĕngwi".[21] In his article on rice cultivation the religious responsibilities of the *sawah*-owners and the irrigation associations are also given attention. And Franken, in his "Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt",[22] illustrates how Bali's pantheon and temple system are still being extended from time to time.

7

Western Literature Regarding Bali

A good thirty-five years ago, C. Lekkerkerker, then the librarian of the Bali Institute at Amsterdam, brought out an excellent bibliography of literature on Bali published between 1597 and 1919, including as many publications as possible in other languages alongside of those in Dutch.[23] A supplement covering the years 1920–1935, but this time restricted to "the most important literature on the culture of Bali", was published by Goris in 1937.[24] In this case, too, books and articles in Indonesian, English, French, and German were listed as well as those in Dutch.

The earliest Western writings on the island were usually based on brief chance contacts. The writers (beginning with Aernoudt Lintgensz., the first Dutchman to set foot on Bali, in 1597)[25] looked at the outward appearance, and their reports, though often containing interesting material, were not the result of serious research. The visits of Raffles and Crawfurd, in the early nineteenth century, were likewise little more than brief encounters.[26]

Around the middle of the nineteenth century the situation changed. At that time the German Sanskritist R. Friederich,

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In this account not only the origins of Balinese religion are related, but also those of Balinese culture. It is the latter that is alluded to in the transfer of a part of Mahameru, which became Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and holiest mountain. For the Balinese this is not geography, but cosmology: the Mahameru is a symbol of the ordered universe, the cosmos. Hence one can follow the first European student of Bali, Friederich, in characterizing the tale as a popular description of the nature and origin of the institutions of Hindu religion and culture on Bali. That origin lay in Jambudwipa (that is to say India) and those institutions were brought by Hindu gods. The recipients, the Balinese, are represented in the legend as followers of an evil, godless demon ruler. There is one exception, however, the figure of Sang Kulputih, who might be called a forerunner of Hindu religion on Bali. He knows the proper forms of worship, and he has contact with the Hindu gods, who hear his prayers and send him help. But this Sang Kulputih also is non-Balinese in origin. The text states specifically that he "was originally from Majapahit", the renowned realm in eastern Java.

Such is the point of view of Bali's early history provided by Balinese tradition, as represented by the *Usana Bali*. For almost a century, however, the methods of modern critical research have been applied to the early history of Bali. To what extent do the results agree with the traditional point of view?

Our chief source of knowledge regarding early Balinese history consists of the royal edicts, inscriptions on stone or metal. These edicts tell about the rulers with their royal court and chancellery, the relation of the royal administration to the people in the *desas*, regulations in the religious field, measures regarding irrigation and taxation, and what not. Another source is that of archeological finds: images and artifacts.

Here it is not the place for a complete survey of the data from the inscriptions, which are in course of being edited and translated.[1] Instead we shall confine ourselves to a few comments on the society and the culture of early Bali, on the basis of epigraphic data in combination with archeological material.

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Chapter Five

Some Religious Problems of Today

1

Old and New

121 The studies in this volume are largely concerned with the traditional forms of ritual and worship: they reflect a closed culture as yet little disturbed by modern life. The question can be put whether the picture they present is actually still valid. Has contact with modern trends, ideas, and institutions not changed all this fundamentally?

771 178 121 For the agrarian inhabitants of Bali's *desas* – which still constitute the majority of the island's population – it would seem to me that the question must be answered in the negative. All the pieces of the cultural and religious mosaic are still there, arranged according to the old patterns. How deep-rooted the traditional forms and usages still are appears from Franken's study.[1] In its rise and development, the postwar movement Franken sketches demonstrates Balinese theogony in action and helps us to understand how the worship of such gods as the Moslem and Chinese deities described below by Grader[2] was able to evolve.

178. Whether, to what extent, and in which direction the content of the traditional forms is going to change for the people of the *desa* is difficult to determine. For many among the modernists and the intellectuals – 'a creative minority', Toynbee would call them – it definitely is changing. The modern influences and currents affecting all of Indonesia have naturally not passed this island by, even though it has been less stirred by them than territories which, owing to economic or political circumstances, are intensely involved in the world at large. In Franken's study it appears that as a group the modernists were critical of the Jayaprana affair,

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The Religious Character of the Village Community

Various writers on Bali have stressed the pronounced religious character of the Balinese *desa*, the village community. That the village forms a closed, self-contained unit – a republic, as Korn has appropriately called it – may be assumed to be generally known.

Any number of statements by authorities on Bali such as Liefrinck, Korn, and the like might be quoted in this connection. Lekkerkerker, for example, speaks of:

> ... the unbroken force of the deeply religious, strongly Hindu-influenced personal and social concepts of the Balinese, which dominate life, permeate and consolidate society, and determine the rites and ceremonies of the individual, the family, the irrigation association, the village, and the country ...[1]

Van Eerde, similarly, writes:

> The [Balinese] society, resting on the firm foundations of its fixed village units, its precisely delimited irrigation complexes, and its well-defined religious associations, remains vigorous in comparison to what is frequently to be encountered elsewhere in Indonesia in this respect, primarily owing to the cooperation of its members.[2]

And Korn states:

> What can be the force urging the Balinese people into staunchly united groups that come together at fixed times of the year for consultation in a way that seems alien to the rest of Indonesia, and playing such an important part in the public and domestic life of these islanders? That force is the service of the gods, who constantly demand the attention and devotion of the people ...[3]

Such quotations, each of them the résumé of years of study, might easily be multiplied. With them in mind, I should like to attempt to trace this religious character in its various forms of

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121 expression in *desa* life: the village temples, the village administration and its meetings, and the village ceremonies.

1

The Temples

778 The various temples intended particularly for religious purposes on the village level demonstrate clearly to what extent religion is a fundamental factor in *desa* society. On Bali there are, of course, various categories of temples, each associated with a certain group of people.

575 592 243 312 Besides the village temples to be discussed below, there are sanctuaries venerated by the irrigation association, the family, the realm. Moreover there are special temples for sacred places such as mountain peaks, lakes, and forests, and for special voluntary associations (*puras pĕmaksan, puras panti*) such as *barong* groups and the like. The irrigation-association sanctuaries may be subdivided into *subak* temples, weir temples, and other sanctuaries. Among the state temples a distinction must be made between the *puras pĕnataran* of the various principalities and Pura Bĕsakih, the sanctuary for the whole of Bali. An intermediate stage between the state temples and temples at holy places is formed by the temples of origin and the *sadkayangans*. The temples of origin referred to here are neither the family *puras kawitan* or *kĕmimitan* nor the village *puras pusĕh* or navel temples, but the sanctuaries of the origin of the world which bear such various names as *pura pusĕr ing jagat* (world-navel temple), *pura pusĕr ing tasik* (sea-navel temple), *pura kĕntĕl gumi* ('temple where the whirling earth has congealed'), and the like. The *sadkayangan* temples are a group of sanctuaries of general (that is to say not local) significance, of which there are differing listings. Four or five temples recur in all these lists, but each separate list also has a few varying names. Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, Pura Batu Kau, Pura Yeh Jĕruk, and Pura Goa Lĕlawah are among the names recurring in all lists. Among the family temples are the household temples (*sanggahs*, or, for the nobility, *pĕmĕrajans*), the family origin temples (*puras kawitan* or

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The Temple System

To describe the temple system of Bali in brief scope it is necessary to omit all but the most essential details. This sketch can do no more than to indicate a few main lines and to trace something of the unity underlying the incredible multiplicity of Balinese temples. It must be pointed out at the very outset that certain extensive groups of temples cannot be considered here, or at best only in passing. Among these are the household temples (*sanggahs* and *pĕmĕrajans*), the smaller shrines for Dewi Mĕlanting at markets and in gardens, and the many and various temples of voluntary worship associations (*puras pĕmaksan, puras panti*).

I

The Pattern and Design of a Temple

Let us begin with a general description of an 'ordinary' village temple of the southern plains. In the Balinese temple it is not the buildings that are essential, but the temple ground. The ground is sacred: on a hallowed plot of land chosen by the gods the Balinese, like the early Greeks and Romans, erect buildings for those gods. The temple is not their dwelling place, however, but only a temporary residence, a lodging. At certain times they deign to descend in order to give human beings the opportunity of coming in contact with them; for this purpose offerings are needed to invite them and to receive them. The place of contact is the temple, and the time of contact the temple festival.

The temple is as a rule divided into three parts or courts: the forecourt (*jaba*), the central court (*jaba tĕngah*), and the inner court (*jĕroan*). Each of these courts has its own religious function, and contains certain buildings appropriate to that function.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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792 highest authority, with power over all Brahmins, even the priests.
659 For this reason there is no objection on the part of the subjects to participating in ceremonies at a temple where the ruler pays homage in his official capacity. The ruler, however, must restrict himself to paying homage to certain gods who enjoy general veneration, gods who are on a level with Surya, Siwa, Mahadewa, and the deity of Gunung Agung. Sometimes the deity worshipped has a special significance as an expression of the tie between the dynasty and the territory ruled: this is, for example, the case with the deity of Mount Pĕngelengan, which mountain dominates the chief river basins of traditional Mĕngwi.

The two mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon were not the only state temples in the former realm of Mĕngwi. Among others there were Pura Taman Ayun, in the capital of the principality, and Pura Prasada, or Sada, at Kapal, a short distance from the capital. There is also reputedly a certain link between those temples and Pura Sĕkenan on the island of Sarangan, Pura Ulun Siwi at Jimbaran, and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit Peninsula. There was no opportunity to trace the nature and essence of this link, but it is not impossible that, since the last three temples are all of them located nearby the sea, they may be looked upon as the nether-worldly counterparts of the state temples in the mountains and at the centre of the realm.

[121] For a clarification of the conceptions underlying the notion of a state temple it would be of value for a closer study to be made of the mountain sanctuaries at Bon and Tiingan together with Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Prasada. However, during my visits there was no time to acquire more than superficial information. This was true especially as regards Pura Taman Ayun.

769 In that temple one is struck by the clear expression of the royal
792 dynasty's ancestor cult. In the inner court, in the eastern row of
346 altars, there is a large *paibon*, oriented towards the east in the usual way. As is pointed out elsewhere in these notes, the *paibon* (a brick structure containing a tripartite brick altar) plays a rôle in the worship of ancestors; at the same time it occupies a prominent

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yellow, and blue (or black), are the chief components of the sun's spectrum. The black colour in the north is considered as having taken the place of blue.

There is in this connection also another trace of earlier sun worship. Moving from east to west in the system of the eleven Rudras one encounters the manifestations of Siwa most closely linked to him: Iswara in the east, Siwa, Paramasiwa, and Sadasiwa in the centre, at the zenith, and at the nadir, and Mahadewa in the west. Hence the whole course which the sun seems to make around the earth falls under the dominion of Siwa.

A study of this element of the sun cult and the identification of Siwa with Surya on Bali would be rewarding. Here, however, I shall confine myself to pointing out the important rôle in the temple system played by the orientation to the east: in this connection reference may be made to the terraced pyramids of Sĕlulung, likewise facing east, and the high, common base for the altars in many temples, especially in northern Bali and on Nusa Pĕnida.

Moreover, the antithesis of *akasa* and *pĕrtiwi*, heaven and earth, with the sun as the symbol of the firmament, serves as the basis for Balinese popular religion. Both the *sanggar agung* and the lotus-seat may be dedicated either to Siwa or Surya, according to local custom. Among the motifs in the long offering carpets the sun recurs as an emblem quite as frequently as the *nini* and the *gunungan*. In the priestly religion the *suryasewana* plays an important rôle, as does also the parallel ritual *mĕsĕgĕh* which the Balinese housewife is expected to perform each day at dawn, high noon, and sunset.

It is also important to recall that in some parts of the *Bali-aga* area sun-worship has been integrated in the ancestor cult, so that in the *sanggah kĕmulan* Surya forms a trinity together with the male and female ancestors. It is moreover characteristic that the ruler is often said to be 'like the sun that illumes the earth'.

Goslings mentions a passage from the *Usana Bali* in which it is stated that a monk from Majapahit who had gained the favour of the gods by asceticism was the founder of the oldest of the six

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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are used in the Jagaraga *pura dalĕm* as weights to assess levies in kind for the temple festival. /01

This is the area of the striking Sangsit style in architecture, which has found one of its finest expressions in Pura Beji at Sangsit. The style is marked by luxurious ornamentation, the use of polychrome decoration, and high, continuous terrace-shaped bases. There is also a marked inclination towards burlesque fantasies, which has led not only to droll portrayals of themes from indigenous life and the animal kingdom, but also to c[redacted]atures of Europeans and products of Western technology su[redacted]s bicycles, cars, steamships, and aeroplanes. As a result the style falls in a category quite by itself.

Further to the west there is an area with mixed forms of social organization constituting a transition to the newer villages of the district of Pĕngastulan which have developed as a result of an influx of people from the south and east. One of the most striking villages in the colonization area is the *desa* of Pĕtĕmon, which contains a clear recollection of its mixed origin in its very name, a contraction of *pĕtĕmuan*, that is to say 'meeting', 'encounter', 'origin'.

Finally, the villages of Sidatapa, Pĕdawa, Tigawasa, and Chĕmpaga, in the district of Banjar, constitute a remarkable, archaic type of *desa*, with Kayuputih, Banyusri, and Gobleg on the periphery.

In this richly varied mosaic of types of social organization the *desa* of Buleleng, lying on the border of the Sangsit area and the mixed area, links together a large number of components which for all their wide variety constitute a unity in the cult of the three village temples.

It is an axiom in the study of the Balinese village system that in the present state of research there is a great need for monographic treatment, and this is *a fortiori* the case as regards such a varied object of study as the extensive *desa* of Buleleng. Only once it has been possible to determine the chief characteristics of the *desa*'s many sub-groupings, most of which themselves present a complicated picture, can an attempt be made to trace a clear pattern in /21

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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the web of their mutual relations, and, by means of comparative studies, to throw more light on any number of phenomena whose nature and origin are still obscure.

It is hard to say which of the various components of the *desa* system deserves priority in treatment. I have let my choice fall on Pura Pĕmayun in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, primarily because this *banjar* must be considered as one of the most important groups within the *desa* area, and also because its territory forms a relatively isolated and clearly delimited unit in the southwestern part of the town. At the same time my choice was stimulated by the presence within the temple organization of two associations charged with performing certain ceremonial dances the description of which, it is hoped, will enhance the attractiveness of this study.

2

The Worship Group

The worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is formed by the members of the *banjar* of Tĕgal, who are organized in a single neighbourhood organization. There are no data on the origin of the association, but it is not probable that a predominantly genealogical grouping lies at its basis, since it numbers persons both of the three higher castes and of the lower caste among its members.

It does not seem over-bold to assume that Pura Pĕmayun was originally a *pura panti*, though there is no knowledge of such an origin among the *banjar* members. The character of a *pura panti* is particularly clear in the region of Karangasĕm, where the term is understood to refer to a *pura pusĕh* in development, venerated by persons who have founded a new village within the territory of an existing *desa* without denying the rights of that mother village to the land.

This may be clarified by an example. In the territory of the *desa* of Sĕlat there are five daughter *desas*: Santi, Sĕbudi, Sogra, Pĕrsana, and Tĕgĕh. These five villages are distinguished from the mother village, the *desa pĕmundĕr*, by the term *desa pĕdasan*. *Pĕdasan* is understood to mean a hamlet, a new settlement. The *pĕmundĕr*

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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is often ignored in the next. No two festivals are carried out in exactly the same manner and there are no two temples exactly alike. The general principles are the same everywhere, but the details vary from place to place and from caste to caste, and the traditions of the ancient mountain villages are different from those of the districts under the influence of the former rulers; to note them all would require an entire book for each custom or ceremony.

Not having made a systematic study of anthropology or of Oriental religions, the objective of this book is limited to the attempt to present a bird's-eye view of Balinese life and culture, both of which are inextricably bound to their deeply rooted beliefs and to their logical and harmonious living. The Balinese still retain their traditions and hold to their own manner of life, but they are only too willing to adopt every new idea, good or bad, brought into their island by merchants, tourists, unsuitable education, and missionaries. The only aim of this book, therefore, is to collect in one volume all that could be obtained from personal experience by an unscientific artist, of a living culture that is doomed to disappear under the merciless onslaught of modern commercialism and standardization.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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CHAPTER IX

RITES AND FESTIVALS

RELIGIONS WERE BORN OF MAN'S DESIRE to understand and control the mysterious process of nature. Fear of the eerie, unseen forces that cause birth, reproduction, and death, awe before the power of fire, wind, and water, made him worship the elements of the teeming world in which he lived. Only by the existence of psychic forces and powerful spirits could he explain the perpetual motion of the sun and the moon, the roll of the sea, and the movements of the clouds, the wind that shakes the trees, lightning, thunder, and rain. Health, fertility, and success he attributed to his magic harmony with these forces, while for earthquakes, volcanic disturbances, epidemics, and the loss of crops he blamed the anger of spirits whom he had failed to propitiate.

Eager to place his fate in the hands of superior beings who would take care of his needs and on whom he could place the responsibility for his failures, man created a pantheon of supernatural beings — protective gods and adverse evil spirits — whose goodwill he aimed to gain by rites, offerings, and sacrifices. Unconsciously, by elaboration and by the adoption of new elements into the pantheon, he ended by developing an elaborate system of ritual and magic acts. Thus the primitive Balinese made of their island a magic world populated by gods, human beings, and demons, each occupying a level allotted by rank: the deified

[p. 259] [pp. 256–258 are blank]

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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THE BALINESE TEMPER*

JANE BELO
New York City

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In examining the psychological character of a people such as the Balinese, who number more than a million, we have no choice but to take up one by one the simple habits of the individual which are common to the people as a whole, noting the patterns occurring in the adult, and how the child by his early conditioning is molded into a personality essentially Balinese. If, in an effort to cast light upon problems of personality, one wished to set forth special traits, special individual developments to be found among the Balinese, one would find it difficult to make one's self understood unless some picture had previously been drawn of the people's psychological nature, as evidenced in the general character of their ways of behaving. For what are among them universal traits might be mistaken for individual deviations. Therefore it seems advisable to describe the general trend of personality development against a background suggesting the tenor of the life, the modes of feeling and of activity, which may range from a subdued stillness to states of exalted animation without being excluded from the habitual and universal trends.

By the Balinese temper I mean the nature and ways of the people as a whole. In my presentation individual examples will serve as illustrations of the general trends, and in certain cases indicate deviations from them. I believe that the Balinese exemplify by their behavior how closely the individual may be required to conform to patterns laid down by the social group, with what rhythmic and unstrained ease he may, under such laws, accomplish the tasks exacted of him, and in what apparent contentment he may exist, when no problem is without an answer in his scheme of things. A description of the making of such adjustments, and the formation of the personality

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* This study is based on four years' acquaintance with the people, during which I resided with my husband, Colin McPhee, in a wholly Balinese village, making studies of the arts, music, legends, and rituals in their intimate correlation with Balinese life.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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through them, may be of interest because of the foreignness of the setting, of the society in which they are made. My method will consist in an enumeration of a series of patterns of behavior, beginning with the simplest, which give to the outsider his initial impression. The simplest passages of behavior differ from our own no less than do the highly complex thought mechanisms, so closely interlocked with them. Ordinary behavior, the way of walking, of sitting, of greeting acquaintances, of taking nourishment, speech-habits, gesture, and facial expression, all these differ from our own, and all are founded not only on the way of life, but on the people's conception of it, and of the place of the individual in relation to it. And conversely, the higher concepts are built up out of component units, the simpler habits of ordinary behavior. In a discussion of the Balinese temper we shall have to consider both phases, and we shall find them often interdependent and inseparable.

Bearing and Pace

To a Westerner, the most striking characteristic in the ordinary behavior of a Balinese is the absolute poise and balance of his bearing, noticeable in his posture, his walk, his slightest gesture. All mature men and women have this poise, and even the small children develop it with remarkable rapidity. Almost never does one see a stooped or curving back even among the old people, and clumsiness and lack of coördination are rare. The impression is that of a nation favored with an unusually fine physique, with natural dignity and ease in every motion. But together with the impression of ease, one remarks a sort of *carefulness* in the bearing, as if each foot were placed in its appointed place, each turn of the head or flick of the wrist calculated not to disturb an equilibrium delicately set up, and hanging somewhere unseen within the individual. One learns that the Balinese is never unconscious of his position in space, in relation to *kadja*,[1] North, which is the direction of the mountains, and *kelod*, South, the direction of the sea; and in relation to his position above the ground, which should not be higher than that of his social superior.

[1] The mountains which form the central part of the island are conceived as the abode of the gods, and the highest and most holy place. The sea is by contrast the lowest place, and although there is also a god of the sea, the sea and the seashore are conceived as unholy, and all that is filthy must be cast there, or into the rivers which carry their own filth down to the sea. As the present observations were made in South Bali, for the sake of convenience *kadja* is translated North and *kelod* South. On the other side of the mountains, in North Bali, *kadja* means South, and *kelod* North, since the relative position of the inhabitants to the mountains is reversed. *Kangin*, East, and *kauh*, West, remain the same in both localities.

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155 we can only take the evidence of Balinese behavior as it appears to
157 us. If we see in the equilibrated, delicately adjusted, and essentially
627 unstrained behavior of the people the clue to their happy temper, we
must conclude that a static traditional culture such as theirs, solving
●121 all problems, prescribing every act, does form a desirable background
155 against which well-balanced personalities may be reared.

3: Bali E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

Acknowledgments

The material for this monograph was collected in Bali—then part of Netherlands East Indies, now part of the Republic of Indonesia — between 1931 and 1939, before the Japanese occupation. This paper was originally designed as part of a much longer, still unpublished volume on Balinese trance; the pattern of trance behavior repeats in the experience of the entranced individual the pattern of the temple feast in which the gods are first invoked, then entertained, and finally persuaded to depart. Because a formal outline of the Balinese temple ceremonial should be of interest to students of many other sorts of cultural phenomena besides trance, it has seemed desirable to publish this segment now.

This monograph deals with the pattern of the *odalan*, the major calendrical feast of a Balinese temple, as it was celebrated in Sajan, a village in the central part of South Bali, District of Gianjar, in 1937–38. I have confined myself to the actual ceremonial in this temple, but my discussion is based on observations of numerous *odalans*, in different types of temples in many parts of Bali. The photographs are of other temple feasts as none were taken at this ceremony.

During the latter part of my field experience in Bali, I worked under the supervision of and in close collaboration with Dr. Margaret Mead and Mr. Gregory Bateson. For their assistance, interest, and encouragement I am deeply grateful. To work with them was a privilege, and the training I received has been invaluable to me. Margaret Mead has also given generously of her time, and the benefit of her specific knowledge of the area, in cross-checking the present manuscript and preparing it for publication.

Two Balinese are to be especially thanked for their invaluable contribution to this particular study, my secretary, Goesti Madé Soemeng, and the *pemangkoe dèsa* of *Bandjar Koeta*, Sajan, who served as my principal informant on the temple ritual. For the cooperation of all our Balinese friends I am also very grateful.

I want to acknowledge my debt to the late Professor Ruth Benedict, who read the original material and helped so much in relating the detail to an understanding of the total culture; Dr. Rhoda Metraux for reading and making suggestions on manuscripts in progress; Mr. Colin McPhee, for the photographs reproduced here; Dr. R. Goris, Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern, and Dr. Andrew Yarrow for their helpful interest in unraveling the bits of archaic Sanskrit, and the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, and in particular

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CHAPTER ONE

Balinese Society

To write of Bali, of Balinese society, is not like writing of a primitive society. It is not like a simple piece of whole cloth, to work out the pattern of which it would be sufficient to study the various strands and their interweaving. Balinese society has a number of patternings, which are overlayed upon each other, which are often conflicting, often confusing to the observer for the inconsistencies they necessarily entail. There are no simple, forthright rules which are consistently held to from village to village; there are no hard and fast boundaries of conduct and belief separating off one caste division from another, one social stratum from another, one status from another. It is a society which is both segmented and stratified—and yet to apply to it classificatory terms invented for the description of industrialized western Europe would be meaningless, even misleading. Likewise, to expect to be able to derive from the data on the structure and function of any single group, a geographical unit, a caste unit, a temporal grouping, general principles which would apply throughout the whole, as we could reasonably hope to do for a primitive society, would be equally meaningless and perhaps even more misleading.

There is nonetheless in the Balinese social picture a very definite character, a special Balineseness, which, I believe, carries through the culture at all levels and in all the varieties of its patternings. It is with this character that we are concerned, its psychological makeup, its cultural makeup, its historical antecedents, its ecological setting. To place what is to be said in its social context, it will be necessary first to sketch the nature of the Balinese society.

In Bali today, we can distinguish a number of levels of development, which, though they refer to different periods of the past, coexist in the present. They illustrate, as it were, different strata in the social and historical process. Thus one can still find in the remote mountain areas village communities which bear a strong resemblance to the known patterns of Old Indonesian community organization, common in the simpler cultures throughout the archipelago. One finds throughout Bali named, hereditary guild-caste membership (*pandé*, smith; *pasek*, warrior or guardian), which,

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it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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not as a female attempting to usurp a male role nor as a matriarch who tends to put the male in a position of subordination.

The question which is left unresolved in this analysis and which we will endeavor to explore is why the Witch figure in particular has aspects of senility, her long gray hair reaching to the ground and her pendulous breasts, together with the great tusks and the long hanging tongue suggesting the rapacious, aging female. The *Rangda* is old in a way that makes her more insatiable and more dangerous, in a way that the *Barong*, fierce and boisterous as he is, is not. There is a possibility that the quality of over age femaleness of this figure has a significance in the present which it had not in the past and which may be expressive of, indicative of, a phase of development in this particular culture.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Identity of Rangda and Barong

Who is Rangda? What is the meaning of this mythological figure, whose power is held transfixed in a wooden mask, whose power is on each ceremonial occasion reaffirmed and reincarnate in the body of the man who plays her? Half a god and half a witch, she stands close as death to the living people. She is there, real, tangible, within arm's reach, the manifestations of her being are imminent and intimate and fiercely urgent; yet she looms out of the past, enormous, threatening, trailing all sorts of inglorious clouds, an evil nature and an evil reputation.

We are not the first to ask this question. The answers proposed by the various authorities who have studied the problem are turned according to the special interests of their individual disciplines. Thus, to the archeologist and student of Eastern religion, Rangda is Durga, the wife of Siva in her dread aspect. To the historian, she is Queen Mahendradatta, a true character out of Indonesian history, mother of King Erlangga, the Balinese prince who became king in Java in 1019 A.D. To the student of theatre, she is the angry widow (literally, *rangda* means widow), a stock character in a series of plays current in the human and puppet theatre in Bali, the chief character of the classic *Tjalonarang* play. To the contemporary ethnologist, she is a mother figure,[1] an expression of the parent child relations peculiar to the culture and of the character of the adult as determined by those early relations. To the psychologist, she is Fear.[2]

It must not be assumed that these various claims upon Rangda's identity are mutually exclusive or would invalidate each other. Rather I would like to show, as we pass in review the arguments, the phrasings, and some factual data presented in favor of each of these points of view, that a mythological figure such as this Rangda may have in its make up a deeply complex, laminated structure, layers upon layers of meaning reaching down into the present out of a foggy or accurately recorded past, for the most part deeply

[1] Bateson and Mead, 1942.
[2] *Ibid.*

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comprehended but not articulately stated by the people whom it most directly concerns.

And I shall try to show, by some actual examples, how such a mythological figure may come to life in the small hours at a village festival, may come to life and, by even the least little action, stir the whole community by her sanctity and strength and add by that much to her store of legend. It would be difficult to overstress how real this creature is to the present day Balinese. She has the sort of authenticity which in our culture belongs to Santa Claus, to the Tax Collector, and to the Angel of Death—with the difference that we could not very well imagine all these figures rolled into one, while the Balinese seem to find no difficulty in attributing to Rangda such a multiplicity. They know her well, they expect the worst of her. Whatever turn events may take, she will be evil, she will be female, she will be angry, she will destroy, she will behave like fear incarnate. And you cannot kill her. Over and over the Balinese reiterate, telling her stories, "you cannot kill her." It is not even any use to play out her death in the dramatic version, for she is always there, everlasting and indestructible, just Rangda.

But the strange thing is that any enactment of Rangda's role, either in institutionalized, ceremonial fashion or as a part of a dramatic performance offered outside the temple at the time of a festival or, perhaps most propitiously, when a temple member during the ceremony spontaneously goes into trance and is possessed by the god of the Rangda, and the mask, heretofore hidden away in a basket in one of the shrines where offerings are laid out, is brought forth and put upon the possessed's head and worn throughout his godly impersonation, is considered a fortunate occurrence, if not an actual exorcism, certainly in the nature of a reassurance that the powers of evil, though forever with us, are under control and in such close communication with living humankind that they may be quite easily propitiated and kept in a favorable frame of mind. It seems to give a Balinese a comfortable feeling to see this long fanged, long nailed, bulging eyed, hairy creature, with the hairy pendulous breasts, her whole body traversed by horizontal black and white stripes, cavorting and careening in the temple enclosure, to be brought finally to quiescence with incense and holy water, a few offerings, and a word or two of respect. The entranced player comes to himself, the mask is put away once more in the basket, stored in the temple. The player merges with the crowd, totally amnesic for what has happened.

To those who are interested in following the thread of Hindu influence coming down out of the past to form a part of the weft of current Balinese life, the consonance of the character of Rangda with that of Durga as they think of her is both striking and inescapable. But in following this thread,

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by means of cultural diffusion, a given people were exposed to a given set of ethological constructs in the ethological make up of a neighboring people. Elements under such exposure do not always "take." And if they do take, they are likely to be transformed and refurbished according to the prevailing feeling in the receiving culture. An inner congruence exists within a culture at any point in time, an equilibrium between the various elements which compose it, such that, if any element is added or drops into oblivion, it reflects upon the total culture at that time. And if a single religious concept, myth figure, or fairy tale is accepted from without or independently evolved, the whole culture is to that extent modified. Children are brought up on these tales; parents' attitudes are modified in concordance with the current belief. They warn, shield, console, and threaten the young with the mythological and religious figures in mind. Fear and fantasy in the adult are communicated to the child in a thousand subtle ways, in the tone of voice in which a father speaks, in the roll of a mother's eye, or in the shiver that runs down her spine as she holds the child in her arms. There is a channeling of feeling which runs out of the realm of fantasy into that of reality, so that the whole culture expresses this feeling not only in the formation of the individuals who make it up, but in its ordering of day to day behavior, its method of economy, its patterned exchanges, and its ceremonial and secular ritual. Kardiner has stated this point as follows:

> The value of the whole genetic approach lies in its being able to show us how certain integrational systems come into being; and we made it our special concern to track down those systems we designated as projective, in contrast to those of taught or rational origin on the basis of which scientific systems are built. In every society studied we found evidences of these two systems. The empirical reality systems we found in the manipulation and making of tools, the knowledge of planting, and so forth; the projective systems in religion, folklore, and many other systems.
>
> These two types of mental process depend upon different orders of experience. The differentiating feature is not that one has an emotional constituent and the other not. Both have emotional components. Rational thinking is driven by curiosity and has such goals as mastery and utility. The emotional component of projective thinking is made up of all those affects which accompany human relations. In the systems built on a projective basis the conclusions drawn do not depend on any fixity in nature, but on sequences which are contingent on institutionalized practices conveyed by parents or other people in the environment of the growing child. Hence our interest in the genetic aspects. The experiential base of a projective system is generally forgotten; its only remains in the personality are to be found in the conditioned perceptions, meanings, affects, psychosomatic reactions, and behavior. It is a feature of such projective systems that they are capable of extension upon situations which have no actual resemblance to the experiences on which they were based. This may be called *symbolic extension.*[*]

[*] Kardiner, 1945, pp. 38-39.

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It is Kardiner's contention that from the early experiences in a given culture a "nuclear constellation" is laid down, which "creates an unconscious base from which any number of projective systems can arise."[10] Because he began with individual psychology and extended it to culture, Kardiner puts the setting of the projective system in what he calls the basic personality structure parallel to that which he would give a projective system in an individual. Projective systems are said to arise, as though in each member of the culture the same one arose anew, out of the psychodynamic forces which he points out. Actually, there is room for acceptance or rejection by the individual within the culture of the projective systems offered to him by his culture, for elaboration and denial within the limits set by the culture and by his individual personality as formed within that culture out of the original human material born into it.

Margaret Mead introduces the Witch theme in Balinese culture with explicit reference to parent child relations and to the reciprocal effect of these upon the myth figure and of the myth figure upon the parent child relations. She says:

> While the Balinese child is passing through this first period of responding with passion to his mother's gay, disassociated teasing . . . he is also the spectator of the drama in which the Balinese express their feeling about such a mother-role. The Witch play, the *Tjalonarang*, the definitive dramatic theme of Balinese parent-child relations, not only expresses the residue in the adults of what they experienced as children, but also is watched by children and shapes their reading of the experiences to which they are subjected daily. It colors the child's appreciation of his mother's behavior, and stylizes his attitude toward her.
>
> The plot of the play, which begins as a simple theatrical performance and usually ends in a series of violent trances with full religious paraphernalia of offerings and ritual, varies in detail from village to village, but is essentially uniform. The Witch is angry at a king because he or his son has rejected her daughter, or married her and then rejected her, or simply because the king has accused her of witchcraft. She summons her disciples—played by the most attractive little girls or by little boys dressed as little girls—and, dressed as an old hag, she schools them in witchcraft. They go forth and spread plague and disaster over the land. People are driven from their homes; babies are born and strangled by the witches and tossed back dead into the parents' laps; corpses fill the land. All of these horrors are in the broadest, slapdash comedy interspersed with exaggerated theatrical emotions. Then the king of the desolated country sends his ambassador, or he may come himself to fight the Witch, now no longer an old and infirm woman, but a masked supernatural being whose tongue is studded with flame, whose nails are many inches long, whose breasts are abhorrently hairy and pendulous, and whose teeth are tusks. Against her the emissary fails. He retires from the stage and is transformed into the Dragon (a two-man mask), who is as friendly and puppyish a beast as the Witch is terri-

[10] *Ibid*, p. 42.

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jective meaning for the participants than do the masked plays. Yet there is no sharp line to be drawn between the two sorts of appearances; a man who has been playing in the Barong may be possessed by the god of the Rangda; a woman may find herself late at night stabbing with a kris at her breast as if she were a man or carried away in a trance state, speaking as the Rangda.

There is a strong point of difference here between Balinese culture and many primitive societies in which the enactment of the masked supernaturals is a strictly male prerogative, women are excluded from participation but are present as audience, and the children, too, up till adolescence. (In Hopi and Zuni, for example, among American Indians; in Australian bull roarer initiation ceremonies.) In such societies, initiation into the knowledge of the secret of the mask performers constitutes a validation of the masculine role, a landmark in the boys' development. In Bali the point of difference is not to be attributed only to the relative advancement of these people, the non-primitive, complex nature of their culture, but to an intrinsic qualitative difference, a special point of Balineseness.

An immensely important feature of Balinese culture, one which is deeply characteristic of these people and which continually arises in any analysis of their ritual and of patterned behavior, is the crossing of sex roles. The sex

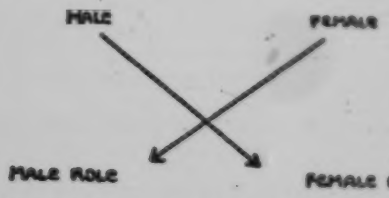

FIGURE 2. CHART INDICATING TREND TOWARD CROSSING OF SEX ROLES.

roles cross; they merge into an undifferentiated male female type and again are separated; there is a redivision of the sexes, which restores the polarity between them. These continual convergences and redivisions of the sexes are a part of their thinking, and much of the feeling at a deeper level, expressed in behavior, follows these lines. A chart of the relationships, overtly and covertly expressed, would look like this.

But, as the Balinese know, it is not so simple as this. From the undifferentiated male female entity must again be separated off the male and female elements. The child, at first undifferentiated, repeats the motif.

This new being, created out of the union of the separated male and female

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

at the crossroads, the graveyard; and only occasionally a pilgrimage to one of the temples of mountain-gods, sea-, lake-, and sacred spring-gods; proper and suitable celebration, with offerings and performances according to his means, of births, birthdays, tooth-filings, weddings, deaths, cremations, etc., in the family. As a rule it is only when some difficulty arises in the carrying out of the ordinary prescribed rites that the djabā turns to the Hindu high-priest, the Pedanda, for advice, and still more rarely, for his offices.

It has occurred to me that a study of one such ordinary Balinese—one of the 900,000 djabā—in his family relations, might be of value, not to lay down any rules, but simply as an illustration of certain common phenomena in the mores.

I have chosen, therefore, an ordinary family, in an ordinary village, lying halfway between the modern town, where the old customs are perforce breaking down, and the region of the old-style Bali-Agā villages, which in their isolation have preserved an order which is today more of a curiosity in Bali, not characteristic of the country as a whole. And so, although it must not be concluded that what has happened in this family is what necessarily would happen in any Balinese family, still the procedures may be taken as fairly typical—if one remembers that variations are great from village to village, and that the customs of the high-caste Balinese, as well as those of the Bali-Agā villages are not represented in the general picture.

A BALINESE FAMILY

Rendah is the head of his household, and therefore a pengajā, member of the village council. He owns his own pekarangan, a walled courtyard within the village limits, enclosing the shrines of his household gods, the living quarters of his immediate family, and the place of the pigs and fowls. He owns also a sufficient portion of the irrigated rice-fields surrounding the village for the maintenance of his family. The fields are tilled by himself, his brothers, and their sons when they are old enough. All the old people and the dependent women and children get enough to eat. If the crop is good, and there is rice left over, it may be sold in the market. The women cook and weave cloth (kamben) for the family, and carry up fresh water from the spring, night and morning. The small girls of five or six begin to help their mothers and aunts at this task, balancing a coconut-shell full of water on their erect heads. The little boys of the same age take charge of the ducks and the water-buffalo, driving them out into the inundated rice-fields at sunrise, driving them back to their shelters near the house-court, at dusk.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

are intended to be man and wife, even though it is wrong for them to be so connected. At the present time it is rare for such twins to marry, although the banishment and propitiatory ceremonies are still widely practiced.

Curiously enough, it is not considered a wrong for very high-caste people to have such twins. But there are many divergences in the customs of the high-caste Balinese from those of the djabā. In passing it may be mentioned that men of the three higher castes may marry women who are djabā, whereas it is a crime for high-caste women to marry or to have relations with a man of lower caste than their own. Offenders used to be either drowned in the sea or banished to another island. Within the past five years the government was forced to deport a Brahmana woman and a djabā man, who, banished from their own village, were refused admittance to all other villages and towns.

The Balinese lontars, sacred texts written on leaves of the tal palm, describe in full the penalties and atonements for the unusual case in family matters: incestuous unions, birth of twins, seductions, suicides, etc. These are the things that are "not done." But for the things that are done, the customary, everyday occurrences, there are no written rules. That is why I have presented this study of a single family in its intimate relations, with the hope that it will give some picture of the family life running its ordinary course.

NEW YORK CITY

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

Ritual purification constitutes a predominant element in Balinese religious concepts. Holy water is the most important means for achieving this ritual purification. In addition to holy water other substances and materials are used, mostly leaves, to which are ascribed the power of driving away evil.

The instrument used for ceremonial purification with holy water, the Balinese holy water sprinkler, is called in Balinese *(ĕ)lis*. The first part of this study is concerned with this intricately fashioned water sprinkler while the second part comprises a discussion of the *èlèh-èlèh pàduduaan*, purificatory objects made from wood, bamboo and terracotta.

I

THE LIS

(holy water sprinkler)

In the course of studying Balinese religious manuals used by the Balinese priests I found numerous *mantra lis*, hymns of praise to the *lis*, often of considerable poetic quality and interesting as reflections of Balinese religious concepts. Before commenting on these hymns of praise I will first describe the form of the *lis* itself and its component parts.[1]

I hope to demonstrate with this description and with the texts of the relevant *mantras* that the *lis* is regarded both as a living being – named in the texts *Sang Janur Kuning*, Lord Yellow Green, by analogy with the tint of the young palm leaves from which it is made – and as a magical tree enchanted by Batara Siwa. The tree aspect is made evident with the placing of a replica of a dove, plaited from strips of leaves, on the lis.

Before discussing the form of the *lis* as it is made in Ubud I will mention the various types and corresponding names of the holy water sprinkler.

The most usual type of *lis* is known as *lis isuh-isuh*, the name relating to the strewing of *isuh-isuh* (also called *tĕpung tawar*), a mixture of *dapdap* leaves, ashes, and rice, by the women following behind those whose function it is to perform the sprinkling with the *lis* during the purification of the temple. The women strewing the *isuh-isuh* also carry an uncooked egg, repeatedly raising it in the direction of the 'seats' of the gods which are to be purified for the reception of the invited deities. The *lis isuh-isuh* is also referred to as *lis tĕgtĕg*, the term *tĕgtĕg* denoting the offering of thread. Chinese coins *(kèpèng)*, flowers, and *sirih* leaves associated with the purification ceremony.

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[1] Cf. J. L. Swellengrebel *Een Vorstenwijding op Bali* (naar materiaal verzameld door de heer H. J. E. F. Schwartz). Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, II. Appendix I, Pl. III-V, Leiden, Brill, 1947. The *lis* from which Swellengrebel had drawings made before the war is, in the most important respects, identical with the *lis* which I saw in 1959 in Ubud (about seven miles from Gianjar and from Pajangan where Swellengrebel's assistant was resident).

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there were too many such groups, that they made for conflict, for a decrease in valuable public activities, and led to a kind of individualism. "The seka got rich, but the bandjar got poor." Thus all the sixteen hamlets decided at once to institute the kliran system and to ban voluntary organizations for all important functions. And when the Dutch left in 1941 the ruling family further intensified its efforts to strengthen the status system which had also been weakened in the general move toward a less organic society, producing the present pattern of organization. Territorialism in Blaju is thus not a simple survival from the distant past, but the outcome of the interaction between traditional values and the quite untraditional events of the twentieth century.

In such a system integrative strains are likely to appear across caste lines, and despite all the bowing and scraping one sees in Blaju, Sudra resentment against Triwangsa domination is quite evident. When a small Sudra dadia of Sunguhu which traditionally has the right to patronize priests appointed from among its own members rather than Brahmana ones, attempted to institute this system in Blaju a few years ago, they were expelled from their hamlet under intense Triwangsa pressure on the basis of "injuring local custom and denigrating the upper castes." Despite heavy pressures from the central bureaucracy and some local sympathy for the rebels, the Blaju upper castes held firm and the Sunguhu ultimately capitulated. But, irrespective of such strains, Blaju is rather more tightly knit than most Balinese villages: all the 1500 families were members of a single national political party, and one of the few really effective consumer-producer cooperatives in Bali was located in Blaju, its effectiveness being mainly attributable to the fact that it, too, had 100 per cent membership.

SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Of the many theoretical issues growing out of the analysis of Balinese village organization, among the most interesting are those centering around questions of typology. Typologizing has always been a central concern of social anthropology because both descriptive simplicity and comparative generalization rest on the possibility of summarizing social organizations in terms of constructs at once ethnographically circumstantial and formally distinctive. Whatever their shortcomings from more sophisticated theoretical perspectives, such types as "The Indian Village," "The Chinese State," or "The Nuer Kinship System" (to say nothing of "Peasant Society," or "Segmentary Social Organization," which are perhaps best seen as second order types of types) seem essential to comparative analysis of even the most rudimentary sort. But the Balinese case, in which this methodologically fundamental task of discriminating wood from trees seems unusually difficult of accomplishment, suggests that some of the assumptions underlying our usual typologizing procedures may be in need of revision. Particularly, and perhaps paradoxically, they suggest that clues to the typologically essential may as often lie in rare or unique phenomena as they do in common or typical ones; that essential form

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

may be seen more adequately in terms of a range of variation than in terms of a fixed pattern from which deviant cases depart. 121

In general, two main approaches to the problem of constructing first order typologies of social organization within a given culture area have been common in anthropology: the "lowest common denominator" approach, and the "representative unit" approach. In the first of these, the procedure is to create a synthetic picture of "Eskimo Life," or "Tale Society," or "Chinese Culture" by taking the various forms found throughout the greater part of the respective culture areas and integrating them so as to provide a generalized account of social structure in an overall sense. Here the anthropologist concentrates on sorting out what is typical from what is not within the entire social field, and the result is a picture which describes directly no actual, given social unit, but which rather summarizes the sort of social form characteristic of the society at whatever point one chooses to look at it. In such a view, variations are interpreted as circumscribed deviations from the general pattern caused by locally acting forces of an ecological, historical, or acculturative nature. This is the older and more popular approach of the two. It is the one usually taken by textbooks and simply descriptive monographs, by such summary volumes as Murdock's *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (1934), and for the most part by the British anthropologists in their African studies.

The "representative unit" approach might also be called the "Middletown" approach, because the procedure is to choose a concrete community—village, town, or tribal settlement—which is at least in a broad way "typical" of the sorts of community found within the culture area. Whether the choice is made on the basis of a systematic social and cultural survey of the whole area or in a more intuitive manner, the attempt is to find a community which forms a useful sample of the broader society, one in which idiosyncratic traits are few relative to those shared with other communities, and one in which most of the patterns deemed basic within the society generally are represented in a "normal" form. This procedure may be refined by choosing several such communities within subcultural areas, as in Steward's Puerto Rico study (Steward et al. 1956), but the methodological strategy is nevertheless the same: to choose a community which is to the greatest possible degree directly representative of more than itself.[12]

Both of these now established procedures yield rather strange results when applied to Bali. The lowest common denominator approach obviously depends on the possibility of finding some fairly simple fundamental patterns —a territorial village, a clan and lineage system, a developed caste structure— which appear over and over again in various parts of the culture area in a broadly similar fashion. But in Bali, though certain patterns are common throughout the whole area the form in which they actually appear differs so widely that any synthetic picture must be drawn in such a generalized fashion as to have little substantial reality of any kind. One could easily enough construct a "Balinese village" with a "typical" temple setup, hamlet organiza- 121 621 184

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121 621 184 tion, kinship system, irrigation society, title distribution, and so on; but such a composite construct would utterly fail to express the two most fundamental characteristics of Balinese village organization, namely, that these patterns take widely differing forms from village to village, and that their relative importance within any particular village integration varies greatly. For similar reasons, the representative unit approach is also almost certain to be misleading. Are we to take Njalian, Tihingan, or Blaju as typical of Bali? In a direct descriptive sense they are not typical of much beyond themselves; but neither, probably, is any other Balinese village. If we are to discriminate what is really essential and characteristic in Balinese village organization we need to take a somewhat different tack and conceptualize that organization not in terms of invariance in overt structure throughout the whole island, or from place to place within it, but rather in terms of the range of overt structure which it is possible to generate out of a fixed set of elemental components. Form, in this view, is not a fundamental constancy amid distracting and adventitious variation, but rather a set of limits within which variation is contained.

[571] What is common to Njalian, Tihingan, and Blaju, and to Balinese villages generally, is the set of planes of social organization out of which they are built up; it is the fact that they are all constructed, although in different ways, of the same materials which accounts for the strong family resemblance they show despite their great structural diversity. In the actual investigation of Balinese village organization, one of course proceeds in a direction diametrically opposite to the logic of presentation followed in this paper: the planes are derived through an inspection of a series of villages rather than discovered in pure form and then combined to generate villages. As more and more villages are studied it soon becomes clear that a relatively small set of basic elements is involved; after one has discriminated temple units, hamlets, irrigation societies, the title hierarchy, the kinship system, voluntary organizations, and governmental units - he comes to feel that he is not likely to find a village in which one of these is wholly lacking nor one in which a completely new plane is present.[12] But though the number and type of elements are thus fairly quickly discovered the possible forms they can take and the ways in which they can unite with the other elements are not. Almost every village studied reveals some new organizational potentiality with respect to one or several of the planes, and a new mode of integration. The process of investigating Balinese village organization, in a typological sense, is therefore a process of progressive delimitation of the structural possibilities inherent in a set of fundamental social elements. What one derives is not a typical village in either the lowest common denominator or representative unit sense, but a differentiated and multidimensional social space within which actual Balinese village organizations are necessarily distributed. One discovers more and more what shapes a village can take and still be distinctively Balinese.

Among other things this means that the peculiar, the unique, and the odd take on a rather different significance than in the usual typologizing procedures, for they are seen not as exceptions to a general rule to be accounted for

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by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structure we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tihingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,500 per square mile (Raka 1955).

[6] In the Tabanan area balé are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former affinal or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies

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121 of Bali (Korn 1936), in which a community is chosen for study not so much on the basis of its representativeness in a statistical sense, but rather because it is held to show prototypical forms and patterns in a relatively uncomplicated, direct, and undistorted fashion. Highly traditionalized communities which have been relatively isolated from acculturative contacts are considered to have changed more slowly than other communities and so are favored as providing pictures of underlying social structures which are clouded over by adventitious elements in the more dynamic communities. This approach has tended to lose favor as it has become apparent that it is based on a dubious theory of social change and that the traditionalism of isolated communities is as often interpretable as an adaptation to peculiar environmental circumstances as it is a persistence of earlier and more fundamental patterns.

184 621 [9] There is a handful of the so-called *Bali Aga* ("original Balinese") villages whose organization differs markedly from those of the overwhelming majority, having age groups, a gerontocratic political structure, communal land tenure, etc. Though the significance of these villages from an ethnohistorical point of view is an interesting problem, their position within Balinese society generally is marginal in the extreme. For descriptions of such villages, see Bukian (1936), Korn (1933), and Bateson and Mead (1942).

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